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ES.

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show & tell.

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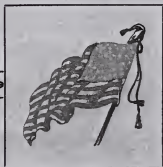
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X-E 642 #

To Our Heroes



In Honor of the
G. A. R.

X-E664

.B6

GIFT

ESTATE OF

THOMAS EWING III

OCTOBER 23, 1947

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

#2

ADDRESS

OF

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,

AT THE

MINNEAPOLIS FAIR,

MINNESOTA,

TUESDAY, SEPT. 3, 1878.

AUGUSTA:

PRINTED AT THE KENNEBEC JOURNAL OFFICE.

1878.

BLAINE #3
— THE — X-E664
B6
PROSCRIPTIONIST.
RECORD

— OF —
JAMES G. BLAINE AS A KNOW NOTHING
AND
PERSECUTOR OF FOREIGN BORN CITIZENS
AND
ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The Know Nothing Oath—The Father Bapst Outrage—The Laws
against Naturalization—Blaine's Attack on Catholic Church Pro-
perty and Archbishop Hughes—No Foreign Born Militia—
The Order of the American Union—Blaine's Know
Nothingism in 1875—The Madigan Circular—
Proofs that Blaine Wrote and Circulated it.

"Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we
hold that it is the duty of the government, in its dealings
with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all
citizens, of whatever nativity, race or persuasion—religious
and political.—[Democratic Platform, 1884.]

#4
Please show your neighbor Mr. Blaine's portrait, drawn by himself, within.

No. 10. [\$1 per 100.]

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS,

No. 85 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

GEO. WALTON GREEN, *Secretary.*

GEO. WM. CURTIS, *President.*

AN APPEAL TO EARNEST CITIZENS.

NEW YORK, Oct. 16, 1884.

To Republican and Independent Citizens:

The National Committee of Republicans and Independents appointed at the New York Conference of July 22, 1884, appeal to all friends of clean politics and honest government for their active and full support from now until election day. Either James G. Blaine or Grover Cleveland must be the next President of the United States. It is within the power of the independent vote to say which.

The response to our efforts has been beyond our hopes. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin, vigorous organizations of Republicans co-operate with us. Directly or through their committees, we have distributed a million of our own documents, and we desire to send out a million more before election day. Everywhere that we can reach honest voters who will read the actual facts as to the two candidates, our ranks grow and our work grows. New names reach us every day from almost every State. Great meetings have already been held in many places; Mr. Schurz has volunteered his services until the eve of election, and other speakers are co-operating with him; our opportunities outrun our capabilities of using them. The increasing correspondence of our central office taxes us to the utmost. We are fighting a vigorous, aggressive campaign in the interest of good government and true republicanism, to the utmost of the power put into our hands by the people.

The campaign looks well. Hard work by earnest men will make New York, Connecticut and New Jersey sure; Massachusetts, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin are already doubtful States. Even Ohio, never before considered doubtful in a presidential year, has required the personal solicitation of votes by Mr. Blaine, and the unstinted use of methods which have made him the most dangerous politician of our time, to save, for unobjectionable candidates, in a State election, on an increased vote, a part of the majority of 1880. The results in Ohio and in West Virginia confirm our belief that Governor Cleveland will win.

The record Mr. Blaine has made in his own letters and acts cannot be forgotten or excused or blotted out. He seeks to evade the real issue of political morality by insisting that the tariff is the presidential issue. Yet, Protectionists and Free Traders are alike in their ranks, willing to leave this question to the Congressional elections and to a President who will execute the will of the people by Congress expressed. He asks support in behalf of civil service reform. Yet, as Speaker, he did his best, by a hostile committee, to kill that reform, while his opponent, as Governor, has been its steadfast friend. He appeals also to distrust of the Democratic party, and despite his stab in the back at Folger in 1882, to loyalty to the Republican party. But veteran Republicans in our ranks hold that party is a means,

X-E 664

.B6

#5

THE CHARGES

AGAINST

MR. BLAINE

EXAMINED

-BY-

A REPUBLICAN.

[No. 2.]

ISSUED BY THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF REPUBLICANS
AND INDEPENDENTS.

ROOM 28, PALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO.

FRANKLIN MACVEACH,
Chairman.

EDWIN BURRETT SMITH,
Secretary.

WM. T. BAKER,
Treasurer.

BLAINE VERSUS BLAINE.

In order to make intelligible the evidence of official dishonor and dishonesty against Mr. Blaine as revealed by the Mulligan letters made public in 1876, and those just published by Messrs. Fisher and Mulligan—evidence which it must be borne in mind is but a fragment of the testimony to Mr. Blaine's practices—the Central Committee of Republicans and Independents of Chicago herewith present these letters together and according to their dates; with only such comments as are necessary to elucidate the true bearing of certain passages. Naught is set down in prejudice and nothing of the record is suppressed which would put a different construction upon what is printed. We have italicised certain passages.

CHAPTER I.

In the spring of 1876, when Mr. Blaine was a candidate for the Republican nomination for President, most damaging rumors of his connection with certain railroad and other transactions were in circulation. Among these rumors growing into charges were:

1. That he had been a lobbyist for the Spencer Rifle Company.

2. That he afterward was a stockholder in that company while it depended upon the government for business, and was benefited by the legislation of Congress.

3. That he did not really pay for the stock, but in the usual way of beneficiaries merely gave his note, to be paid out of "dividends."

4. That he sold Tom Scott, directly or indirectly, 75,000 Little Rock bonds for \$64,000, and that Scott handed them over to the Union Pacific railroad of which he was President, the bonds being of but trifling value and in no sense a real purchase.

X-E664
.B6

#7

MR. BLAINE'S RECORD.

The Investigation of 1876

AND

THE MULLIGAN LETTERS.

PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED,

166 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON.

X-E 664

B6 #8

SUPPLEMENT

-TO-

"THE CHARGES

AGAINST

MR. BLAINE

EXAMINED

-BY-

A REPUBLICAN."

X-E664

.B6

#9

ADDRESS.

Fellow Citizens: —

In obedience to the invitation with which I have been honored, I stand here in behalf of the Republicans opposing the Presidential candidates of the Republican party. You may well believe me, when I say that it is no pleasure to me to enter upon a campaign like this. But a candid statement of our reasons for the step we have taken is due to those whose companionship, in the pending contest, we have left. It is therefore to Republicans that I address myself. I shall, of course, not waste any words upon politicians who follow the name of the party, right or wrong; but to the men of reason and conscience will I appeal, who loved their party for the good ends it was serving, and who were faithful to it in the same measure as it was faithful to the honor and the true interests of the Republic. Let them hear me, and then decide whether the same fidelity will not irresistibly lead them where we stand now.

At the threshold, I have to meet a misapprehension of our motives. It has been said, and I suppose believed by some, that we were dissatisfied with the Republican party because its present candidates were protectionists. This is easily answered. Is Senator Edmunds of Vermont a free trader? On the contrary, he is well known to be as strong a protectionist as any member of the Senate. And who among the candidates before the Republican National Convention was the favorite of the same "Independent Republicans" now opposing the Republican nominations? The same Senator Edmunds. Why was he their favorite? Because he was thoroughly trusted as an honest man who could be depended upon to be faithful to those moral principles and political methods, the observance of which would make and keep the government honest. There was the decisive point. We should have supported other Republican candidates even of less prominence and of less ability than Mr. Edmunds possesses, no matter whether they were as strong protectionists as he, provided they satisfied that one fundamental requirement of unimpeachable, positive, and active integrity. This is a fact universally known, which no candid man will question. What, then, has the tariff question to do with the motives of our opposition? Nothing at all. And if any of those to whom these presents may come still assert that the tariff is the moving cause of our action, they convict themselves of being afraid of the real reasons which govern us, and of seeking artfully to deceive the people about them. So far, it may have been a mistake: now, it will be a lie.

Undoubtedly, the tariff is an interesting and important subject, so is

X-E66A

.B69

#10

Civil-Service Reform

AS A

Moral Question

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

NEW YORK

THE NATIONAL CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE

1889

X-E664

B68

#11

Civil-Service Reform

AS A

Moral Question

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

NEW YORK

THE NATIONAL CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE

1887

X-E664
B69

#12

HOW TO OBTAIN
A
FULL & FAIR ASSESSMENT
FOR
Taxation of Real and Personal Property,
BY
CHAS. J. BONAPARTE.

Delivered before the Landlords' Mutual Protective Association,
December 3d, 1889.

Hanzsche & Co., Printers, 2 Light St.

X-E664

B69

#13

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOLY SEE.

A PAPER READ AT THE

FIRST AMERICAN CATHOLIC CONGRESS

AT BALTIMORE, NOVEMBER 11th, 1889.

AND

The Catholic Church and American Institutions.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE

CENTENARY FESTIVAL OF THE CATHOLIC SOCIETIES OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BALTIMORE

AT BAY RIDGE, JULY 11th, 1889.

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

BALTIMORE:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM K. BOYLE & SON.
1889.

X-E664
B69

#14

THE SCOPE AND DIFFICULTIES
OF
Civil Service Reform.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT FORT WAYNE, INDIANA,

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

BEFORE THE

Civil Service Reform Association of Indiana,

MAY 16TH, 1890.

BALTIMORE:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM K. BOYLE & SON.

110 E. Baltimore Street.

1890.

X-E664
-B69

#15

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

IN THE

NATIONAL SERVICE

1889-1891

SIX REPORTS

OF THE

SPECIAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

OF THE

National Civil Service Reform League

BOSTON

PRESS OF GEO. H. ELLIS, 141 FRANKLIN STREET

1891

X-E 664

B 69

#16

CHRONIC PAUPERISM

AS A

By-Product of Modern Civilization in America.

An Address delivered before the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity,
Friday, January 20th, 1893,

By CHARLES J. BONAPARTE, Baltimore, Md.

We know, on the best authority, that the poor we have always with us, and in all ages a certain proportion of these constant companions have done what they could to prevent our forgetting either their existence or our own obligation to take care of them, but the *modus operandi* by which they seek to enforce a specific performance of this provision in the social contract has varied with the manners of the times. Two or three centuries ago gentlemen who thought the world had not treated them right, which then, as now, usually signified that they found it a cold, cold world, because they would not work hard enough in it to keep warm, "took to the road."

There was much to be said in favor of this career: it ensured them a great deal of fresh air and exercise, with rather more than a spice of danger as a safeguard against *ennui*, and, for the public good, it was reasonably certain to be short, and to have either Tyburn or a bullet at its end. We may be pardoned, therefore, a sigh when we reflect that the days of Dick Turpin are no more, and that now those who, had they lived then, might have ridden with him and been comfortably hanged at his side, are mere bunco steers and green-goods men, with a train-robber here and there as a

X-E664

B69

#17

DO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT
CIVIL SERVICE REFORM?

A PAPER

READ AT THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM
LEAGUE,

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO,

DECEMBER, 17, 1897.

X-E 664

B69

#18

DO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT
CIVIL SERVICE REFORM?

A PAPER

READ AT THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM
LEAGUE,

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO,

DECEMBER, 17, 1897.

X-E664

.B69

#19

CAN WE TRUST OUR ARMY TO
SPOILSMEN?

A PAPER

READ AT THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM
LEAGUE

By CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

AT BALTIMORE, MD., DECEMBER 16, 1898

X-E66
B69

#20

OUR NATIONAL DANGERS, REAL AND
UNREAL

AN ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE HARVARD CHAPTER OF THE
PHI BETA KAPPA

In Sanders Theatre, Thursday, June 29, 1899

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

X-E664
B68

#21

THE SPOILS SYSTEM IN THE GOV-
ERNMENT OF DEPENDENCIES.

A PAPER

READ AT THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM
LEAGUE,

HELD AT INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER 15, 1899,

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

X-E664

B69

#22

CONCORD AND THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION

AN ORATION

DELIVERED ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-
FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF CONCORD FIGHT

APRIL 19, 1900

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

#23 1-E664
B69

National Number Five
Municipal League 1901
Leaflets

THE ESSENTIAL
ELEMENT IN GOOD
CITY GOVERNMENT

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

X-E 664

.B69

#24

JOHN MARSHALL AS LAWYER
AND JUDGE

AN ORATION

DELIVERED ON "JOHN MARSHALL DAY"

FEBRUARY 4, 1901

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

X-E 664
B69

#25

Some Duties and Responsibilities of American Catholics

An Address Delivered at the Commencement Exercises of the University of Notre Dame, June 15, 1904

by

The Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte



Notre Dame, Indiana, U. S. A.
The Ave Maria Press

X-E664

.B69

#26

OUR NAVY: WHY WE NEED IT AND
WHAT IT NEEDS.

BY HON. CHARLES J. BONAPARTE,
Secretary of the Navy.

AN ADDRESS ON THE THIRTIETH COMMEMORATION DAY OF THE JOHNS
HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, FEBRUARY 22, 1906.

[From *The Johns Hopkins University Circular*, February, 1906, No. 184.]

X-E 664

.B69

#27

Punishment and Pardon

A Paper Read at the Annual Meeting of
the National Prison Congress

Chicago, Illinois, September 18, 1907

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

X-E664
B69

The Criminal Law as a Means ^{#28} to Enforce the People's Will.

Address

Of the President at the Annual Meeting of the National
Municipal League, delivered at Pittsburg, Pa.,
Wednesday, November 18, 1908, by

Charles J. Bonaparte.

X-E664
B69

#29

REMARKS
OF
Attorney-General Bonaparte
In Response to the Toast:
"The Bar of the Country and the
Cause of Federal Justice"
Before the
Pennsylvania Society of New York
Saturday, December 12, 1908.

X-E 664

.B 69

#30

SPEECH OF
Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte
AT
WESTMINSTER, MD.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1909

**"The amendment is a monstrosity,
a compound of injustice and
absurdity which would disgrace
the organic law of any civilized
community."**

Fellow Citizens of Carroll County:

Some years ago it was said of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency (I needn't name him, for there is only one) that he made seventy speeches a day; one of his rather numerous enemies in his own party explained this to mean that he made the same speech over again seventy times a day. Had it been Mr. Bryan's good fortune to have to find fault with the proposed Amendment, against which you are all, I hope, going to vote as one man in twenty days, he need not have taken refuge in repetition. If one tried to say all the bad things which can be truthfully and ought to be rightfully said of that measure, he would fill up seven times seventy speeches of reasonable length and yet leave much unsaid.

X-E664

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#31

The Initiative in the Choice of Elective Municipal Officers.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

Delivered at Cincinnati, Ohio, Monday, November 15, 1909,

By CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

Meaning of Initiative

To avoid any possible misconception, it may be well for me to say at once that the word "initiative", in the published title of my address, is used in no technical sense, and has no connection whatever with the "Referendum" or the "Recall". I here employ the term as substantially equivalent to "authoritative suggestion" or "presentation for consideration"; and mean by it the process whereby a candidate is found and his name put before the people or before a political party when an elective office is to be filled. In the title I speak only of municipal offices, and these are primarily in my mind; but the views I shall express are, in the main, no less applicable to state and federal offices: indeed the problem with which I deal arises inevitably in any form of popular government.

When any body governed by elective officers, say, *exempli gratia*, the National Municipal League, has to provide itself with a new ruler or new set of rulers, it is obliged to develop some organ or devise some mechanism which looks up a man or several men believed to be fit for the job and willing to undertake it: the League provides this agency in the form of a committee on nominations, and the same somewhat rudimentary device, or one identical in principle, supplies the same need for all voluntary associations with which I am acquainted. What shall take the place and fulfil the purpose of a committee on nominations when a vast municipal corporation, say one of our great American cities, has to choose its rulers by popular vote?

The simplest and most convenient way to deal with this problem, that is to say, the way certainly most convenient for the person asked to solve it, is to ignore its existence; and I must

X-6664

Bx 9

#32

WHY I SHALL VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT

A Paper Read at the "Symposium,"
South Orange, New Jersey,
Saturday, October 26,
1912

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I shall vote for Theodore Roosevelt on November 5th for two reasons; first, because I believe the American people wish him to be their next President; secondly, because I believe that, in so wishing, the American people judge wisely and do well. When I say the people wish him for their President, I mean that, if all the forces of party loyalty and discipline and if partisan prejudice, in all its many forms, could be eliminated from this campaign, and if the Nation's voters were asked to choose between Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson, not as representing any kind of political organizations, but simply as men and past or present public servants, a large, indeed, an over-

X-E664
B69

#33

THE WORLD OF SAINT DOMINIC
AND THE
WORLD OF TODAY



An Address delivered on the Seven Hundredth Anniversary
of the Approval of the Order of Friars Preachers
by the Apostolic See, Sunday, November
19th, 1916, at Washington, D. C.

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

X-E664

.B69

#34

Why I must Vote for Hughes



REMARKS OF CHARLES J. BONAPARTE
AT A MEETING OF THE
PROGRESSIVE STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF MARYLAND
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1916

X-E664
B69

#35

TWO LESSONS
OF THE
PAST FOUR YEARS



An Address delivered Thursday, April 29, 1920, before
Thomas Johnson Chapter, Daughters of American Revolution

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

X-E664
.D69

#36

TWO LESSONS
OF THE
PAST FOUR YEARS



An Address delivered Thursday, April 29, 1920, before
Thomas Johnson Chapter, Daughters of American Revolution

BY

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

X-E 664
B87

#37



CARTOONS



DESIGNED & DRAWN
By A.W. REWERTON, JR.
NEW YORK.

1896--1900. THEN AND NOW.

A ROMANCE.

THE FAKIR BOY FROM PLAINS OF ALKALI.

—BY—

THE HON. WILLIAM ROBERT MOORE,

OF MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE.

Once on a time there met a wild convention—
The time and place 'twere needless here to mention :
Its delegates were many, multifarious ;
Their characters were honest, doubtful, various.
They started out to call it democratic,
But if it was, 'twas sure the most erratic
Conglomeration ever got together
Beneath the sun in torrid July weather.

~~Its engineers-in-chief were of progression~~

Men noted for their right for retrogression ;
Men of the past, famed for their opposition
To every movement, every proposition
Looking to progress, national honor, glory,
Beneath our flag, within our territory.
They met within the most progressive city
Of all the world, (and more it is the pity)—
The place prodigious by a sea unsalted,
Where Push and Thrift run hand in hand exalted ;
Where no conception that imagination
Can think or shape, but finds realization ;
Where grow the Fields, the Pullmans and the Palmers,
The Kohlsaats, Gages, Rockfellers, Armours—
Within a modern, mighty coliseum,
And christened it with *popudem te deum*.
~~Alas for human frailties, that I write it.~~
But truth historic says I must indite it.

The looker-on of that vast seething ocean
Of human kind without united notion,
Could not but see and fear foreboding trouble
From men well known with power to carry double.
He could but know it was not in the power
Of that incongruous mass, within their hour,
To harmonize with principle cold pelf,
But rather, for pure place exalt mere self.

Ten thousand men possessed of one conceit—
To fool each other and the world to cheat—
When massed together find it not so easy
To win their ends—they're apt to become " breezy ;"
And so it was with this agglomeration
Of anarchy, deceit, repudiation.

The ball once opened, Self began to utter
Her plaintive cries for place and bread and butter ;
And ere the first day's notes had died away,
The country looked upon them with dismay.
The heterogenous forces soon began
To show the shallow purpose of the clan,
And to develop what was feared before,
But now so plain that doubt could be no more :
Namely, to bring our starry flag to shame
Through policies that patriots blush to name.

The Altgelds, Dungfork Tillmans and the Coxseys,
Together with their kind and all their proxies,
The Harrises, the Blackburn blatherskites,
The "bloody bridles" Waites and Desbites,

But, to be brief as fairness well can make it,
The "Simon Pures" concluded they would " shake it,"
And let the Pops direct this wild convention
Whose wickedness forbids here public mention.
And so, in deep disgust, the Whitneys, Flowers,
The Palmers, Hills, Braggs, Bynums rained down showers
Of vengeful wrath and righteous indignation
That men could stoop to such base degradation ;
And packing up their traps in bourbon dudgeon,
Each swore *he'd* not be taken for a gudgeon.

But so it was, this old guard, urged by anger,
By no means characterized by lazy languor,
Shook off the dust and left the place disgusted,
And published to the world : " Our party's busted ;
We'll go to Indiana, start a new one,
And advertise it as the only true one."

Meanwhile, our muse must not forget to mention
The leading Star of that free-mob convention.
'Tis never wise to write a thrilling story
And leave out Him entitled to all the glory ;
And therefore will we sing awhile of Bryan,
The man who had so long been slyly tryin'
Through secret silver arguments to capture
The unsuspecting masses, and enrapture
The simple minds of those uneducated,
Whose patriotism had been underrated.

So when the time seemed ripe and all was ready,
When Dungfork Tillman had made all unsteady,
The Fakir boy, from plains of alkali,
Was trotted in and told his hand to try.
Knowing that wind and words were chiefly wanted,
And that the Fakir Boy had ne'er them scanted,
They felt he was, of all their train, best suited
To blow their silver bazoo so long bruited.

So when with lung and endless volubility
He lumbered on with asinine agility
Until he reached his stolen "cross and crown,"
That was too much ; it brought his hearers down.
It mattered not that he had not been known,
It mattered not that he had never shown
Capacity for even the small affairs of life ;
He could say words and words could bring on strife ;
And that, at least, they thought would raise a breeze
Which they could ride to office on with ease.
And so they named him as their candidate,
To occupy the exalted chair of state.

But not so fast. Although his nomination,
Through frenzied craze, came on by acclamation,
The sober second thought soon took possession
Of thinking minds not moved by such digression,
And, like the "greenback craze" of years gone by,
They said, "We'll mangle this ; it, too, must die ;
This land of Washington, of Lincoln, Grant,
Must ne'er dishonored be by fraud and cant ;
Our flag of stars and stripes, known as "Old Glory,"
Must float in honor through the ages hoary.
This heritage, God given, this honored nation
Must ne'er through fraud suffer humiliation."

No wonder, then, with this determination,
The Fakir Boy soon saw the situation ;
And as he whirled along, noon, night and morning,
Haranguing ears, bucolic, asleep and yawning,
He stood a picture, rare, unique and curious,
Some making happy, others quite as furious ;
His pockets filled with feet of graveyard rabbits,—
No tale of Pops but he would eager grab it ;
Believing, in his heart of superstition,
That heaven had sent him on a special mission
To wreck the country's credit and her honor
By loading vile repudiation upon her ;
Exhibiting a physical endurance,
A confident, apparent, blind assurance,
That in six hundred speeches, each like other
So much that any one was twin to t'other,
All full of wind and words, and words and wind,

X-E664
.B87

DOCUMENT No. 123.

"We have passed from a bond issuing to a bond paying nation; from a nation of borrowers to a nation of lenders; from a deficiency in revenue to a surplus; from fear to confidence; from enforced idleness to profitable employment."—*William McKinley.*

#39

Bryan's Predictions False,

AS SHOWN BY

THE RECORD OF PROSPERITY, PRICES AND VALUES.

IN view of the fact that Mr. Bryan is starting out with a new series of assertions, coupled with a reiteration of most of his old ones, it is interesting to examine some of those made four years ago and see whether the developments since they were made prove that they were accurate or otherwise. The quotations from his speeches which follow are taken from his own book, "The First Battle," and may therefore be accepted as accurate.

"Prices Certain to Fall Under a Gold Standard."

"If we have the Gold Standard prices are as certain to fall as the stone which is thrown into the air."—*At Newton, Ia., August 8, 1896.*

When Mr. Bryan made this assertion on August 8, 1896, the highest price of wheat in New York was, as shown by the official reports of the Bureau of Statistics, 68 cents per bushel. On June 21, 1900, the highest price of the same grade, in the same market, was 92½ cents per bushel.

The highest price of corn on August 8, 1896, was 30½ cents per bushel, and on June 21, 1900, 47½ cents per bushel.

Oats at the date of the above statement, were in the same market, 23½ cents per bushel, and on June 21, 1900, 28½ cents per bushel.

Lard, at the date mentioned, was in the New York market, 8½ cents per pound, and on June 21, 1900, 6.9 cents per pound, or practically double.

Mess pork on August 8, 1896, was \$8.75 per barrel, and on June 21, 1900, \$12.50 per barrel.

Beef, family, in the New York markets at the date of Mr. Bryan's nomination, was \$9.00 per barrel, on June 21, 1900, \$12.00 per barrel.

Ohio XX wool on August 8, 1896, the date of the above assertion, was in the New York market, 17 cents per pound, on June 1, 1900, it was 30½ cents per pound.

Silver, at the date of Mr. Bryan's above assertion, was in the New York market and the markets of the world, 69.1 cents per ounce, and on June 23, 1900, 60.9 cents per ounce.

Thus it appears that instead of prices being "As certain to fall as the stone which is thrown into the air," the prices of all articles of farm produce have risen, and apparently the only article which has fallen in price is silver.

"Prices Must Fall Under the Scramble for Gold."

"So long as the scramble for gold continues, prices must fall, and a general fall in prices is but another definition for hard times."—*Speech of Acceptance at Madison Square Garden.*

Presumably the "scramble for gold" has continued in view of the fact that countries whose aggregate population is nearly 500,000,000 have adopted the gold standard since this statement was made. Yet, as shown by the opening paragraph of this pamphlet, prices, instead of falling, have advanced in every case except that of silver.

Railroad Rates and Falling Prices.

"Railroad rates have not been reduced to keep pace with falling prices. The farmer has thus found it more and more difficult to live. Has he not a just complaint against the Gold Standard?"—*Speech at Madison Square Garden.*

The average annual price of wheat per bushel, as shown by the official reports of the Department of Agriculture, was 94.4 cents in 1870; and in 1899, the latest year for which the annual average can be obtained, was, according to the same authority, 58.4 cents, a fall of 36 per cent.

EXCHANGE. MAR 13 1916

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#40

William Jennings Bryan

(Staatssecretaris der Vereen. Staten)

over

De Engelsche Overheersching in Indië.

Motto: De voortdurende agressie van het Westen jegens het vredelievende en onoorlogszuchtige Oosten als gevolg van handelsonderneming indien al niet handelshonger, heeft onveranderlijk plaats gehad in den naam van het Christendom. Wij hebben bezit genomen van hun vruchtbare gebieden en van hun beste havens. En thans, in de ontwikkeling van den tijd, wenschen wij algemeene vrede. Of het in Gods Voorzienigheid ligt, dat de zoo lang opgehoopte wrok door Europa's misdaden jegens de Oostersche naties gepleegd, zal kunnen worden afgewend zonder oorlog, tenzij eerst boete zal zijn gedaan en teruggave zal hebben plaats gehad, is eene zaak om stil te overdenken.—
William J. Gaynor, oud-Burgemeester van New York.

Library Ministry of
Interior

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73d Congress, 2d Session

House Document No. 408

**William Jennings Bryan
Memorial**

Washington, D.C.

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Bryan at His Worst. B87

[From the New York Sun, September 22.] #42

It is not pleasant to find a candidate for President of the United States talking as foolishly or dishonestly as Mr. Bryan talked at Monett, Mo.:

"The Republicans are now boasting that we have reached a point where we can loan money to people in other countries. I want to ask you whether you regard that as an evidence of prosperity. Why would any man send his money to Europe for investment if he could find a place in this country to invest it? Money sent abroad for investment must be sent for one of two reasons, either because the man who sends the money over there thinks more of the people over there than he does of the people here, and does it for love and devotion, or because it is a matter of business, that is, because he can invest it to better advantage in a European country than he can in this country."

Mr. Bryan either knows or does not know that the country has accumulated so much money under that financial system which he is trying to break down that it has money to lend at a low rate of interest to the rest of the world. He either knows or does not know that a low rate of interest is good for the country in general, especially for that "debtor class" for which he shows so much concern. He either knows or does not know that a country which is able to lend must be prosperous. He either knows or does not know that the big slice of the German loan taken by a life insurance company represents in large measure the savings of many men in moderate circumstances.

If he does not know these things, he is too big a fool to be President. If he does, and yet talks as he talked at Monett, he is too dishonest to be President.



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BRYAN'S DOUBLE TRUST TRICK #43

Bryan is prating of a federal license law for trusts as if it would be a measure of undoubted constitutionality. Very different was his talk at the Chicago Trust Conference a year ago. He admitted then that there was the gravest doubt about it. "I am not sure that the remedy I propose is unconstitutional." That was his language then. He continued:

"The supreme court did not say that a broader law than the present one would be unconstitutional. It is true there are things in the decision which suggest that, but until that question is presented to the court you cannot say that the court has passed upon it. It is also true that Justice Harlan, in his dissenting opinion, assumed that a broader law would be unconstitutional."


Hence the strongest argument he could make in favor of the license scheme a year ago was that he was "not sure it was unconstitutional," and was willing to take desperate chances, admitting that indications were all against him.

"We are not met here to destroy the trusts." So said the Nebraskan, trying to lure Republicans into his humbug license scheme. Doubts, great doubts! "But what is the alternative? Sit down and do nothing?" So said Bryan.

Not able to get Republicans to go into a scheme which he admitted to be doubtful, he now turns on them for rejecting the plan which he himself damned with faint praise.

This is the same Bryan who, when the Republicans proposed a constitutional amendment as a safe and secure foundation for anti-trust bills, including any such plan as his, forthwith went back on the whole thing.

Not many politicians would play as scurvy a trick as he has on the trust question.



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#44

BRYAN'S PROTECTION METHOD

He Has "Government By Injunction" to Protect His Copyright—Common Law Suits
Would Not Suffice—Enjoying Extreme Protection Himself He would
Deny It To Others—"All Rights Reserved" By Bryan.

The protection which William J. Bryan secured when he copyrighted his book is of an extraordinary character.

First, Bryan's monopoly in the book is not left to the ordinary protection of the law, but is specially secured through "government by injunction"—the precise thing which he and his party denounce.

If anyone should venture to infringe on Bryan's monopoly and reprint his book, an injunction would be clapped on the infringer forthwith.

Manufacturers have no such protection as that.

In the second place, Bryan's protection is unlimited, whereas manufacturers are only protected up to a certain point. If a manufacturer raises his price beyond the level covered by the tariff duty, the foreign article at once comes in and competes against him.

Not so with Bryan's copyrighted book. Let him charge what he pleases, there is still no competition. He can demand any price and the buyer has no choice, but to pay it or go without the book.

It is right that authors should have this special protection, and be shielded by injunction. The shame is that William J. Bryan, in the full enjoyment of such protection and getting rich by it, should go around the country demanding that protection be taken away from other people, and denouncing the very process which is the only adequate defense of his copyright—government by injunction.



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#45

BRYAN IS FOR FREE TRADE

**An Absolute Free Trader, No Difference What it May Cost American Labor
—Fanatically Opposed to Protection Regardless of Its Benefit
to Industry and Labor.**

In one of Bryan's speeches in Congress, he said:

"I WANT TO STATE AS EMPHATICALLY AS WORDS CAN STATE THAT I CONSIDER IT AS FALSE IN ECONOMY AND VICIOUS IN POLICY TO ATTEMPT TO RAISE AT A HIGH PRICE IN THIS COUNTRY THAT WHICH WE CAN PURCHASE ABROAD AT A LOW PRICE IN EXCHANGE FOR THE PRODUCT OF OUR TOIL."

There you are. Free Trade, pure and simple, and the repeal of all duties enacted to keep higher wages in this country than abroad.

Even more specific is the following from his speech in the House of Representatives on March 16, 1892 (Congressional Record, Vol. 122, page 2129):

"What I denounce is a protective tariff levied purely and solely for the purpose of protection. It is false economy and the most vicious political principle that has ever cursed this country. I am ready to stand by it anywhere, that a tariff levied, not to raise revenue, but to protect some particular industry, is wrong in principle and vicious in practice."

As an explanation why he could hold such sentiments, Bryan took as a text and motto for his free trade speech of January 13, 1894, the following from Proverbs (Congressional Record, Vol. 26, Part 1, page 219):

"BETTER IS LITTLE WITH RIGHTEOUSNESS THAN GREAT REVENUES WITHOUT RIGHT."

As if American workmen must give up their high wages as not right, and come down to the foreign level in the name of religion. A man who talks this way may be sincere, but he is dangerous. Let workmen beware of this fanatic, possessed, as he is, with the idea that the high wages of this country are not right and must be reduced in the name of religion. His opponents do not accuse him of that, but point to his words where he himself says it most explicitly.

Fanaticism is never so dangerous as when it gets to quoting religion.
LET LABOR BEWARE OF BRYAN.



BRYAN AS AN ARTFUL DODGER

HIS COMPLETE SOMERSAULT ON THE "TRUST" QUESTION.—HE WANTED MORE FEDERAL POWER TO REGULATE, BUT NOT TO DESTROY, THE "TRUSTS"

WHAT HE SAID ONE YEAR AGO

BACKS OUT COMPLETELY WHEN REPUBLICANS PROPOSE AN "ANTI-TRUST" AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.—NOT EVEN CERTAIN AS TO THE POWER TO REGULATE.

"Plunged in a gulf of deep despair,
Ye wretched sinners lie."

These words were used by William Jennings Bryan in his remarks before the Chicago Conference on Trusts on Sept. 16, 1899. They are as applicable to the present story as when he quoted them.

Few instances of artful dodging by men high in politics equal Bryan's flop on the trust question. A little over a year ago he attended the Chicago Conference on Trusts. On Sept. 16, 1899, he made a speech. It is printed in full in the official record of the debates published by the Civic Federation of Chicago, pages 572-586.

"Now this is a conference. We have not met here to destroy the trusts."

So said Mr. Bryan in the course of his speech on September 16th. Assuredly so. There was nothing in Mr. Bryan's speech which looked toward destroying all trusts.

He merely proposed regulation. With that end in view he advocated substantially the same policy that was proposed in Congress a few months later by the Republicans, to-wit: Strengthening the federal power over trusts. He said:

"The gentleman suggests that it is a difficult thing to get two-thirds of both houses to favor such an amendment. That is true; it is a difficult thing, but if the people want to destroy the trusts they can control two-thirds of both houses and three-fourths of the states. But what is the alternative? Sit down and do nothing?"

The principal change desired by Bryan at that time was presented by him in these terms:

"That the Federal Government has, or

should have, the right to impose such restrictions as Congress may think necessary upon every corporation which does business outside of the state in which it was organized."

No destruction there.

Mr. Bryan said later:

"I am not sure that the Constitution would prohibit such an act of Congress as I suggest."

Not certain even as to the power to regulate.

The Republicans, however, were sure that there was no such authority in the Constitution, and that without it no effective law could be passed. They proposed, therefore, to amend the Constitution that the precise thing pretendedly favored by Mr. Bryan might be done, not in an uncertain or doubtful way, with everything unsettled until a case could be carried to the Supreme Court, but by building on a solid basis from the beginning. Then the Bryanites in Congress cast an almost solid vote against the Republican proposition and defeated it. And ever since then Bryan has wriggled and twisted and tried, by loud general clamor about trusts, to get away from his own record.

But he cannot squirm away from it. William Jennings Bryan must toast on the spit of his own contriving. Never was a man more flagrantly inconsistent than Bryan has been on the trust question. He does not eat his own words; he bolts them whole without even trying to chew them. Of a truth it may be said:

"Plunged in a gulf of deep despair,
The wretched sinner lies."

#46

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BRYAN'S TRUST DISTINCTIONS. ^{B2}

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"I want to start with the declaration that a monopoly in private hands is indefensible from any standpoint, and intolerable. I MAKE NO EXCEPTIONS TO THE RULE."

—W. J. Bryan at Chicago Trust Conference, September 26, 1909.

NATIONAL STARCH COMPANY. "I GLORY IN THE COURAGE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO COME TO OTOR COUNTY TO DRIVE THIS OUT OF YOUR COMMUNITY."

W. J. Bryan spoke thus in a speech at Nebraska City, September 26, 1909, with reference to the action instituted by Attorney General Smyth against the National Starch Company, to prevent it from doing business in Nebraska. This concern is owned by citizens of Nebraska City, who have done much for the upholding of Nebraska's Industries, and who have also donated libraries and public parks.

But several of them, gold democrats, like J. Sterling Morton, Secretary of Agriculture under Cleveland and the founder of "Arbor Day," have also incurred the bitter personal enmity of Bryan on account of their opposition to free silver.

The company pays good wages to 250 people, and practically supports the town of Nebraska City. During the last ten years it has paid \$2,000,000 to farmers in the neighborhood for corn. It has made a world-wide market for a Nebraska product. It has never done anything in restraint of trade.

PROGRESS OF THE TRUST DISCRIMINATION

After leaving to his Attorney-General the work in which he himself glories, of driving out of Nebraska a concern which employs labor, and in which his political enemies are financially interested, and overlooking the SILVER SMELTING TRUST, of Omaha, Bryan continues his PROGRESS TOWARDS THE OVERTHROW OF TRUSTS by traveling eastward to the headquarters of the "Money Power" in New York, where, sublimely conscious that

THE ICE TRUST IS RIGHT THERE
THAT HE SAYS IS A "LOCAL AFFAIR,"
HE PLANS TO TALK AT MADISON SQUARE

on the same platform with "EMPEROR DICK" CROKER, LEADING STOCKHOLDER IN THE ICE TRUST, at a meeting to be presided over by EDWARD M. SHEPARD, WHO DREW THE ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION FOR THE SUGAR TRUST, AND WHOSE ENTIRE TIME FROM ONE YEAR'S END TO THE OTHER IS ABSORBED IN GIVING LEGAL ADVICE TO THAT NOTORIOUS MONOPOLY.

CONSISTENCY MAY BE GOLDEN. IF SO, INCONSISTENCY, CRIMINAL INCONSISTENCY, IS SILVER AND BRYAN.



BRYAN'S OWN TRUST

Denounces Monopolies in Other People's Hands
But Warns the Public not to Infringe on His
Private Book Trust—His "First Battle"
an Absolute Monopoly—No Free
Trade or Free Coinage There.

"ALL RIGHTS RESERVED" BY BRYAN.

In his speech before the Chicago Conference on Trusts, September 16, 1899, William Jennings Bryan said:

"One trust magnate may be more benevolent than another, but there is *no good monopoly in private hands*, and I do not believe it is safe for any man or group of men to *monopolize any article of merchandise*, or any branch of industry."

Rather broad statement that. Mr. Bryan is much given to radical statements, but one would have thought he would have stopped short of denouncing any monopoly of "any article of merchandise."

It is over a year since Bryan made that speech denouncing each and every monopoly, but he is repeating the same doctrine today. October 10th, he asked in his speech at Nashville, Michigan:

"Do you know of any good monopoly in private hands? Do you know of any man good enough to stand at the head of any monopoly, and determine the price of that which others are to use?"

Well, there is a certain book known as "The First Battle," which is an article of merchandise, and an absolute monopoly in W. J. Bryan's hands. Quite an expensive one, indeed, to many poor men, who have felt that they must have it. On the reverse side of the title page of that interesting work we read:

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1896,
BY WILLIAM J. BRYAN,
In the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

On the next page is a warning by the publishers against any "fraudulent imitations."

And there you are.

This is the absolute, law-protected monopoly which in four years has made William J. Bryan a rich man.

If it were not for Bryan's absolute monopoly of the book, farmers, workmen and the horny-handed sons of toil in general could have secured the work for one-third or even a quarter of what they have had to pay for it.

No honest man will deny Mr. Bryan's right to his book, or his privilege to make what he can out of it. It has always been the policy of this country to respect the rights of authors, and to give them a monopoly, or, as the law puts it, "an exclusive right" to their works.

The wrong is that a man enjoying this special protection, and getting rich by making poor men pay a higher price than he could get under the free printing of his book,—and free trading in it,—should in his selfishness declare that other people shall enjoy no such privilege, but have every vestige of protection taken away from them.

A fine man that to set up as an instructor for the liberal hearted, protection favoring people of America! Would Bryan destroy all patents too? They are monopolies, one and all, like his copyright.



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BRYAN'S CRIMINAL INCONSISTENCY

He Distinguishes Between Good and Bad Monopolies
According as His Friends Are or Are Not
Interested in Them

ICE TRUST A "LOCAL AFFAIR," HE SAYS

Bryan says that those who attempt to divide private monopolies into good monopolies and bad monopolies will never make any progress towards the overthrow of trusts.

But Bryan does not say a word against any monopoly, however criminal, WHEN HIS FRIENDS ARE IN IT.

He says the Ice Trust is "A LOCAL AFFAIR."
THIS IS NOT TRUE.

THE COMPANY TRANSACTS A WHOLESALE AND RETAIL BUSINESS IN THE CITY OF GREATER NEW YORK, N. Y.; IN PHILADELPHIA, PA.; IN BALTIMORE, MD.; IN WASHINGTON, D. C.; IN CAMDEN, N. J.; IN LAKEWOOD, N. J., AND AT ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

The trust, therefore, HAVING ITS HOME IN NEW JERSEY, the business it transacts can be local only in Camden, Lakewood and Atlantic City.

IT CANNOT BE LOCAL IN GREATER NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON, WHERE IT TRANSACTS AN INTERSTATE WHOLESALE AND RETAIL BUSINESS.

ITS INTERSTATE DOCKS AND PLANTS IN MAINE, NEW YORK, MARYLAND AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ARE NOT LOCALIZED IN NEW JERSEY.

TO SAY THAT THE ICE TRUST IS A LOCAL AFFAIR IS A LIE MADE OUT OF WHOLE CLOTH.

If Mr. Bryan wants proof of this, he can find it in the following portion of the official report of the American Ice Company, to the New York Stock Exchange, at the time its directors applied for the listing of \$12,440,000 preferred stock, and \$22,039,100 common stock, to the dealings of that Exchange. [For convenient reference we would refer Mr. Bryan to the report in full on page 793, vol. 69, of the Commercial and Financial Chronicle.]

"Incorporated in New Jersey, on March 11, 1899.

"Plants and their location: (a) 11 docks, situated in Greater New York; 2 ice manufacturing situated in Greater New York; (h) plants for housing ice, situated on the Hudson River; (c) 4 docks, situated in the City of Washington, D. C.; 2 sales depots; 1 ice house on the Potomac River; (d) 1 plant at Prince George County, Maryland; (e) 3 plants for housing ice, situated on the Kennebec River; 1 plant for housing ice at Booth Bay, Maine."

The favoritism and protection extended by Emperor Dick Croker of Greater New York to the Ice Trust has been shown in the granting of valuable DOCKAGE PRIVILEGES WHICH NO COMPETING ICE CONCERN CAN GET.

Two of Croker's Dock Commissioners, J. Sergeant Gram and Charles E. Murphy, were on the recently published list of stockholders.

The Ice Trust was given valuable contracts with the City of New York, through the official aid and consent of Croker, Mayor Van Wyck and others, interested stockholders.

According to the official records the following were some of the leading DEMOCRATIC STOCKHOLDERS a few weeks ago: MAYOR ROBERT A. VAN WYCK, \$25,000; RICHARD CROKER, \$10,000; HUGH McLAUGHLIN, \$30,000; CORPORATION COUNSEL JOHN WHALEN, \$50,000; JOHN F. CARROLL, \$47,000; AUGUSTUS VAN WYCK, WRITER OF THE ANTI-TRUST PLANK OF THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, \$175,000; F. A. CROKER, \$3,600; E. D. CROKER, \$3,500; L. J. CROKER, \$1,000; E. R. CARROLL, \$10,000.

At the Chicago Trust Conference, Sept. 16, 1899, Bryan said:

"I WANT TO START WITH THE DECLARATION THAT A MONOPOLY IN PRIVATE HANDS IS INDEFENSIBLE FROM ANY STANDPOINT, AND INTOLERABLE. I MAKE NO EXCEPTIONS TO THE RULE."

NOW LET MR. BRYAN DENOUNCE THE DEMOCRATIC ICE TRUST.

BRYAN AND THE GRAND

He Objects in Congress to an Appropriation of \$100,000, to Be Paid Out of the District Revenues, to Aid in Defraying the Expenses Attending the Reception and Entertainment of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Encampment of the Grand Army at Washington, D. C., in September, 1892 #50

[From the Congressional Record—Report of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives, June 30, 1892.]

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To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a communication from the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, accompanied by a letter from the chairman of the executive committee organized by the citizens of Washington for the reception and entertainment of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, which is to be held in Washington during September next. An appeal is made for an appropriation by Congress of \$100,000, one-half to be paid out of the District revenues, to aid in defraying the expenses attending this reception.

The event is one of very high, and, as I believe, of national interest, and the attendance of the surviving Union soldiers will, I do not doubt, be larger than at any annual encampment that has ever been held. The public authorities of the cities or States, or both, in which the encampments have been held have, I believe, usually appropriated liberally to make the occasions worthy and the entertainment hospitable. The parade of the survivors of our great armies upon Pennsylvania avenue will bring vividly back to us those joyful and momentous days when the great victorious armies of the East and of the West marched through the streets of Washington in high parade and were received by our citizens with joyful acclaim. It seems to me that it will be highly appropriate for Congress suitably to aid in making this demonstration impressive, and in extending to those soldiers whose lives a beneficent Providence has prolonged an opportunity to see in the security and peace, development and prosperity, which now so happily pervade the national capital, the fruits of their sacrifice and valor.

BENJ. HARRISON.

Executive Mansion, March 24, 1892.

Mr. Bryan: "Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to one phase of this question which has not impressed itself upon the minds of those who have spoken.

"I am willing to concede that those who favor this appropriation, favor it in all earnestness, and because they believe it is proper, and I hope they will concede as much to those of us who do not believe that it is a proper expenditure of the public money.

"There are two questions involved. First, whether we shall pay any part of this appropriation out of the national Treasury, and second, whether we, acting as a common council for the District of Columbia, shall impose a part or all of it upon the District. What has been said largely has been directed to the first question. The people generally are not interested in the

the purpose of making money for the people who invited them.

"Who asks that the 230,000 people of the District shall bear this burden? Not the soldiers themselves? Not the home-buyers or the taxpayers, but the ones who on their own responsibility and for their own benefit promised the hospitality which other cities stood ready to extend. What right have we to lay unnecessary burdens on ninety-nine per cent of the people here at the request of one per cent and for the direct benefit of that one per cent?

"It was a business proposition pure and simple. Who extended the invitation? The invitation was extended by the representatives of the railroads, who tell you that they will scarcely be able to transport all of the people who are coming. It was extended by the keepers of hotels, who tell you that they will be over-

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BRYAN'S REVOLUTIONARY THREATS

Precise Language Used by Him in Public Speeches---Sinister
References to the Supreme Court, and An Intimation that
Its Decisions Would be Nullified by President Bryan---
The Silver Standard at Any Cost, and by Fair
Means or Foul.

Secretary Gage has shown clearly the power which Bryan might use, as President, to nullify the gold standard law, if so disposed. It becomes then a momentous question what his disposition in the matter would be, and as to this there can be no doubt.

Mr. Bryan has pledged himself in public speeches to use every power, regular and irregular, direct and indirect, to force the country upon a silver basis, if he is elected President.

BRYAN'S CHICAGO THREAT.

Bryan gives, in his "First Battle," the full text of his speech in the campaign of 1896 to the business men of Chicago. This speech, being addressed specially to business men, was supposed to declare his plans and policies with more deliberation and care than an ordinary effusion on the stump. In the report of this speech, since coolly and deliberately embodied in his book, on page 587, he says:

"And then I propose that we shall say to our foreign creditors that we intend to pay our coin obligations in either gold or silver. I propose that we shall say to them: 'Gentlemen, if you conspire to make that silver dollar worth less than the gold dollar, we shall pay you in that silver dollar.' You say that that is repudiation. I deny it. They bought our bonds only a short time ago and they made a difference between coin bonds and gold bonds, charging for the risk they took, and now let them have the risk which they charged for. Do you say that they have a right to charge us more because of the risk they took, and that we have not the right to exercise the option which they calculated on?"

A POLICY OF REVENGE.

It will be noted that Bryan proposed here a policy which was to be followed, not because of any supposed benefit to the country but solely to secure revenge upon the foreign bondholder. He did not stop to consider the question of sawing off the limb on which the country is sitting and starting it down toward a silver basis by paying interest in silver. The only purpose animating him was that of "getting even" with the foreign bondholders.

THE PHILADELPHIA THREAT.

Mr. Bryan's threat to have it out with the bondholders is a matter that

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#52

SPEECH
OF
HON. ELIHU ROOT
SECRETARY OF WAR
AT
PEORIA, ILLINOIS

SEPTEMBER 24, 1902

TRANSFER

31

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WASHINGTON, D. C. :
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1902.

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53

SPEECH BY ELIHU ROOT, AS TEMPORARY
CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
CONVENTION, AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
JUNE 21, 1904. * * * * *

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54

SOME DUTIES OF AMERICAN LAWYERS
TO AMERICAN LAW.

ADDRESS BY ELIHU ROOT BEFORE
THE YALE LAW SCHOOL AT THE
COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES IN
NEW HAVEN, JUNE 27, 1904.

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*SPEECH delivered by the
Hon. Elihu Root, as Chair-
man of the Committee to
notify Senator Fairbanks of
his nomination as Vice-
President, at Indianapolis
on August 3rd, 1904.*

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SPEECH BY ELIHU ROOT, AT BUFFALO,
OCTOBER 22, 1904. * * * *

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57

SPEECH BY ELIHU ROOT, AT THE 99TH ANNUAL
BANQUET OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY, IN
THE CITY OF NEW YORK, DECEMBER 22, 1904. * *

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III

MAR 2 1905

Harvard University
Library of Divinity

NEW YORK:

WILLIAM GREEN, 34 TO 37 PEARL STREET

1905

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#58 ✓

SPEECH BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Root)
AT A DINNER GIVEN BY THE PILGRIMS
OF THE UNITED STATES IN HONOR OF
THE RIGHT HONORABLE EARL GREY,
G. C. M. G., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF
CANADA, NEW YORK, MARCH 31, 1906.

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31

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#59^v

ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Root)
A OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AS HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE
THIRD CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RE-
PUBLICS AT RIO DE JANEIRO, JULY 31,
1906. ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀

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#60

ADDRESS BY ELIHU ROOT BEFORE THE
TRANS-MISSISSIPPI COMMERCIAL
CONGRESS, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI,
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1906. ♀ ♀

TRANSFER

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#61

REMARKS OF ELIHU ROOT ON UN-
VEILING A MEMORIAL WINDOW TO
THE HONORABLE JOHN HAY AT THE
KENESETH ISRAEL, PHILADELPHIA, DE-
CEMBER 2, 1906. ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀

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*62

SPEECH OF ELIHU ROOT AT THE DIN-
NER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY,
NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12,
1906.

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#63 ✓

SPEECH OF HONORABLE ELIHU ROOT,
SECRETARY OF STATE, AT THE
NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE EX-
TENSION OF THE FOREIGN COMMERCE
OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON,
D. C., JANUARY 14, 1907.

TRANSFER

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MAR 7 1946

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64

ADDRESS OF HONORABLE ELIHU ROOT,
SECRETARY OF STATE, AT THE
BANQUET OF THE CANADIAN CLUB OF
OTTAWA, CANADA, JANUARY 22, 1907.

TRANSFER

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#65

ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
MR. ROOT, UPON THE OPENING OF
THE NATIONAL ARBITRATION AND PEACE
CONGRESS, IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
APRIL 15, 1907.

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#66

ADDRESS BY MR. ROOT, PRESIDENT OF
THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, AT THE OPENING MEETING,
WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 19, 1907:

THE REAL QUESTIONS UNDER THE JAPANESE
TREATY AND THE SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL BOARD.
RESOLUTION.

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#67

THE SANCTION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL
LAW BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY, MR.
ROOT, WASHINGTON, APRIL 24, 1908.

TRANSFER

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#68

SPEECH OF SECRETARY ROOT AT THE
LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE OF
THE BUILDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL
UNION OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS, AT
WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 11, 1908.

FRANKLIN

31

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#69 ✓

Republicanism or Democracy?

BY

ELIHU ROOT

Secretary of State

Speech as Chairman of Republican State Convention
at Saratoga, N. Y., September 14, 1908

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#70

Supplement

COURT OF INQUIRY

ON MAJ.-GENL. HOOKER'S REPORT OF THE NIGHT ENGAGEMENT OF
WAUHATCHIE.

ARGUMENT OF MAJ.-GEN. CARL SCHURZ.

Delivered February 12th, 1864.

In submitting the case to this Court of Inquiry, I am obliged to notice a circumstance which is of a delicate nature, but about which I shall speak with entire frankness. I asked for this investigation, and it was granted. The manner in which it was granted deviates in a remarkable degree from the recognized usage of military life. I think there never was a military court in the Army of the United States, not one member of which held an equal rank with the accused; and I doubt, whether there ever was a court of inquiry in this army, all the members of which belonged to the command of the accuser. I am far from intending any reflection upon the Court, as it is now constituted; for there is probably no man in the army who has less of the pride of rank in him than I; nor do your official relations to the accuser in this case, give me any uneasiness as to your impartiality. But I wish to observe, that in accepting the form in which this investigation was offered to me, I had to waive a question of propriety. In justice to you I waived that question without hesitation; in justice to myself I have to notice it.

In Maj.-Genl. Hooker's report of the night engagement of Wauhatchie, we find the following paragraph:

"I regret that my duty constrains me to except any portion of my command in my commendation of their courage and valor. The brigade "dispatched to the relief of Geary, by orders delivered in person to its Division Commander, never reached him until long after the fight had ended.

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ADMISSION OF GEORGIA.

TWO SPEECHES

DELIVERED BY

HON. CARL SCHURZ,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, MARCH 18 AND APRIL 19, 1870.

footnote
The Senate having under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 1335) to admit the State of Georgia to representation in the Congress of the United States;

Mr. SCHURZ said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I confess that when this bill came first to my knowledge I asked myself, just as the Senator from Nevada did, why we should impose upon the State of Georgia conditions which we had not imposed upon the States of Virginia and Mississippi, and why we should not strike out that extraordinary provision which requires them to hold an election next fall? The diversity of opinion which arose upon that point led me to inquire into the history and legal aspect of the case; and I may say that I have done so earnestly, conscientiously, and even anxiously, and withal with a very strong bias in favor of conceding all that our friends in Georgia asked of us. If I have reluctantly come to contrary conclusions, those conclusions are the result of careful investigation and the conclusions desire to do that which is right.

It appears that the issue at the present moment before the Senate is not whether the State of Georgia shall be admitted, for it seems we are all in favor of that; but it is whether the so-called Bingham amendment, prohibiting the State Legislature to continue in office beyond this year, shall be preserved or stricken out from the bill. Before entering upon my argument I would ask the Senator from Indiana who has taken so prominent a part in this debate, a question which, if convenient to him, he may answer. Will he, in case the Bingham amendment is stricken out, vote for the bill and preamble as it stands with his amendment attached to it?

Mr. MORTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHURZ. I hesitate a little to go again over that old story of the progress of recon-

struction in Georgia; but a few words on that point will be sufficient for the purpose of completing my argument.

The first steps of legal reconstruction were taken by the people of Georgia in pursuance of the act of March 2, 1867. A constitutional convention was elected from the 29th of October to the 2d of November of that year. The convention met on the 4th of December, 1867, and it adjourned the 11th of March, 1868. The constitution was ratified by the people of Georgia at an election held from the 20th to the 23d of April, 1868. By the act of June 25, 1868, Congress provided that certain States should be admitted upon their compliance with certain fundamental conditions precedent to their admission. As to Georgia three conditions were imposed: first, the ratification of the fourteenth amendment; second, the expurgation of certain articles from her constitution, which I need not name in detail here; and third, the exclusion from office of those who were disqualified by the third section of the fourteenth amendment.

The first two of these fundamental conditions were faithfully complied with; the fourteenth amendment was ratified, and the constitution of Georgia was expurgated by the Legislature in July, 1868. But the third of those conditions was evaded. Those who were disqualified by the third section of the fourteenth amendment were not ejected from the Legislature; but, on the contrary, loyal men were expelled and others were admitted who had received only a minority of the votes. However, before this took place their State government was inaugurated in pursuance of the act of June 25, 1868. Military rule was withdrawn on the 22d of July, 1868, and in consequence certain members elected in Georgia were admitted by the lower House of Congress to seats in that body. But the Legislature of Georgia having not

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12

CARL SCHURZ,

DELIVERED AT

FARWELL HALL, CHICAGO,

August 12th, 1871.

FELLOW-CITIZENS! I thank you most heartily for the cordial demonstrations of friendship and confidence with which you have welcomed me. It does my heart good to see that, amid the conflicting criticisms which my political attitude has called forth, my motives, at least, are understood and appreciated by you as by our German-born fellow-citizens generally. You have called me here to give you my views on the present situation of political affairs. You shall have them without equivocation or reserve. Now more than ever I consider it the duty of every one who undertakes to exercise an influence upon public opinion to speak the truth without favor and without fear; and so I shall, although what I say may run against many prejudices and preconceived notions. You observe the political parties of this republic, without exception, in a state of confusion. Everywhere you notice movements which go beyond the old party programmes. The political drill-masters are in great tribulation. They will tell you that the whole mischief proceeds from a few restless agitators, who will be satisfied with nothing. Ah, gentlemen, the "few restless agitators" have from the beginning of history been the object of much abuse; but what won't have become of the world had there been only quiet heads, whose only wisdom consists in calling bad well enough, and letting well enough alone! But in this instance the restless people are rather too numerous to be despised. I venture to say that a majority of the American people at this moment belong to that suspected class; and I am inclined to think that you all are of them, without exception. Nothing could be more natural. We all feel that we are in a period of transition; that the great revolution through which we have passed has brought forth a new order of things, with new problems, new dangers, new duties, more or less unprovided for in the old programmes of political parties.

LEGACY OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Our civil war has accomplished great results. It has swept away the doctrine of secession. It has abolished slavery and broken the slaveholding power, which, as an organized interest, controlled the politics of this country. In the place of slavery it has put free labor, and with it the equality of the civil and political rights of all citizens under the protection of our national constitution. These are magnificent, invaluable conquests. But the civil war has also left behind it dangers and problems which impose upon the republican form of government new trials. The republican form of government has successfully proved that it can endure, subside, and outlast a rebel ion ever so formidable. It has still to prove, and I trust it will, that it can overcome dangers hardly less formidable. The civil war left behind it a deplorable estrangement of feeling between the citizens of different sections of the country; a lurking hostil-

ity to the legitimate results of the war on the part of many; certain habits of assuming arbitrary power, necessary and natural in times of great public danger, but by no means harmless in times of peace; a disturbance of the balances of political power, which must be so readjusted as to make the new prerogatives of the national authority answer their logical objects, and at the same time render them conformable to that independence which local self-government must possess in order to develop its blessings. That is not all. The power and the machinery of the central government have grown beyond the measure formerly known. The war has left behind it financial burdens which have rendered necessary a new system of taxation reaching every material interest. It has left a national debt, the management of which is calculated to affect all the great financial movements of the country. The number of government officers has grown to the proportions of an army, and in the immensely increased patronage the government finds means to exercise a wide-spread influence in our political concerns. Colossal accumulations of capital in the hands of great corporations have developed a new power in the State which frequently rises, and not seldom, with success, to subjugate to its will Executives, Legislatures, and courts of justice. Powerful combinations of politicians and fortune-hunters, commonly called rings, have here and there formed themselves to control partisan organizations for their own personal interest. And, with all this, the moral tone of our political life has become such as to drive very honorable and valuable elements of the population from active politics, and to give easier play to those vicious and dangerous influences.

These things are carefully observed by many, and instinctively felt by all; and it is not surprising indeed that in view of the questions which they involve, the number of the restless heads should grow from day to day to such proportions as to trouble very seriously the political drill-masters whose political horizon and interest is bounded by the chances of the regular ticket and the distribution of the plunder.

In discussing these topics, I shall observe a rule which I have always found a good one: to imagine myself, in considering important questions, outside of all political connections, so as to consider those questions on their own merits, and arrive at my conclusions without any bias of personal or party interest. I know there are politicians who will consider this a dangerous practice, and those who indulge in it on the high road to perdition. But I invite you to risk yourselves with me a moment, imagine you were only American citizens, and had never been either Republicans or Democrats, and in this frame of mind let us reason together.

Does it not occur to you that the interests of the country demand, above all things, after we have

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#73

REFORM.

SPEECH OF HON. CARL SCHURZ,

At Nashville, Tennessee, Wednesday, September 20, 1871.

Words of Truth and Sobriety to the People of the South.—Condition and Prospects of the Democratic and Republican Parties.—Their Claims to the Confidence of the People Calmly and Elaborately Considered.—A New Party His Remedy for the Existing Political Evils.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—When the kind invitation which called me here was published in the papers, some over-zealous partisans, who had long been doubting my orthodoxy, threw up their hands in holy horror, exclaiming, "You see now how far he is gone: some of the most prominent rebels in Tennessee are among those who invite him; and yet he accepts their invitation." I plead guilty to the charge, and more than that: While I am happy to meet the steadfast Union men, who, in the hour of peril, faithfully supported the national cause, I am equally happy to stretch out my hand to all men who, having stood against us during the civil war, are now ready to work for the "restoration of universal peace, harmony, friendship and true brotherhood." And had I lost a brother in the great conflict, and were to meet here the man who took his life, my hand and heart would be open to him, did he show himself ready to work with me for that great end. And thus I thank you, Unionists and Confederates, Republicans and Democrats, native and adopted citizens, white and black, fellow-citizens, all: I thank you from my whole heart, for the friendly welcome you have given me. And my gratitude for this high honor I can show in no better form than by laying before you in what I am going to say, the sincerest feelings of my heart and the truest convictions of my mind, without fear and partiality.

I have been called here by no selfish aspiration. You can give me nothing that would promote my fortunes. I can not be a candidate for the Presidency, owing to a benignant provision of the Constitution, which declares

foreign-born citizens ineligible—a high constitutional privilege I might call it, for it exempts us from that most malignant of all moral diseases—a disease almost sure to kill whomever it attacks—the Presidential fever. Neither do I come here as a partisan to coin a little capital for this or that political organization; for the welfare of the American people stands to me above all party interest. I have, then, nothing to ask of you but that you hear me, not for my cause, but for your own—for that of our common country.

You have invited me to discuss before you the present condition of public affairs and the problems they impose upon us. I will state them as they appear to my mind in brief review.

The civil war left behind it an alienation of feeling between those lately arrayed against each other, which is dangerous to the internal peace of the country, and stands in the way of a fruitful co-operation of the social elements. It ought to be disarmed and gradually extinguished by a just, generous and conciliatory policy. In the first line, a general amnesty, the removal of political disabilities, which ought to have been granted long ago, should no longer be delayed.

The new order of things established by the war, whose essence consists in the equality of rights, is still being disturbed by adverse aspirations. It ought to be wisely developed and firmly maintained and secured by the co-operation of all good citizens.

Times of great peril and trouble have fostered the habit of unconstitutional assumptions of power, and alarming acts of insurpa-

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#74

USURPATION OF THE WAR POWERS.

SPEECH
OF
HON. CARL SCHURZ,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, MARCH 28 AND 29, 1871.

The Senate having under consideration Mr. Sumner's resolutions relative to the employment of the naval forces of the United States in the waters of San Domingo—

Mr. SCHURZ said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: Three speeches have now been made in reply to the Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. SUMNER,] and although they were strong in imputations, with all due respect be it said, I did not find in them a vast accumulation of argument. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. MONROE] first intimated that the Senator from Massachusetts had delivered his remarks for the purpose of forestalling the effect of the report of the commission that had been sent to San Domingo, and thus, perhaps, to prevent the ratification of the treaty. Being somewhat acquainted with the Senator from Massachusetts, I think I can give my friend from Indiana the consoling assurance that nothing of the kind was in the mind of the Senator from Massachusetts. Whatever the report of the commission sent on a mission of investigation to San Domingo may be, I do not think it is likely to shed such a flood of light on the subject as to materially alter the judgment of the Senate. I should therefore deem it unnecessary to forestall anything with regard to the San Domingo treaty, for I am living in the hope that the fate of that treaty is already sealed.

The Senator from Wisconsin, [Mr. HOWE,] opened with a most beautiful exordium, revealing to us a very remarkable acquaintance with the events of ancient and modern history. He slaughtered, one after another, Solomon, Cicero, Brutus, Cassius, Casca, William Pitt, and Daniel Webster, with merciless rigor, and finally closed the column with my friend from Massachusetts. Really, sir, it was a brave sight to see him standing, with his fatal hatchet,

scalping one after another, and proving that all these great men, toward the close of their lives, had entirely lost their mental faculties. Very sad, indeed. But as to the conclusion he desired to draw, that the course of the Senator from Massachusetts is also owing to the failure of his mental faculties, I cannot refrain from replying that the difficulty seems to be far less with the failure of the mental strength of the Senator from Massachusetts than with the failure of the moral strength of others.

I do not enter into this debate for the purpose of affecting in any way the result of the San Domingo negotiation; for my arguments against that treaty stand on a different ground. I enter into it solely for the purpose of raising my voice in vindication of sound constitutional government; for no man can have listened to the discussion on the floor of the Senate on these very resolutions without having been struck by the sinister looseness of constitutional notions which has been exhibited to us; by the continual confounding of the President's person with the Government of the United States, just as if the whole Government of the United States consisted of only one man. It is for the purpose of vindicating the constitutional division of powers that I enter upon this debate; and to bring the discussion back to a legitimate basis it is well that we should once more have a rapid survey of the facts.

The President, of his own motion and accord, as he had a constitutional right to do, made a treaty with Buenaventura Baez for the annexation of the Dominican republic to the United States. The Dominican republic was disturbed by revolutionary parties hostile to Baez. The Dominican republic was also said to be threatened by the neighboring republic of Haiti, whose people were unfavorably disposed with regard to the project of the annexation of a

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GENERAL AMNESTY.

SPEECH
OF
HON. CARL SCHURZ,
OF MISSOURI,

DELIVERED

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

JANUARY 30, 1872.

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#76

Sales of Arms to French Agents.

SPEECHES

OF

HON. CARL SCHURZ,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, FEBRUARY 15 AND 20, 1872.

The Senate having under consideration the resolution of Mr. SUMNER's in regard to the sales of arms to French agents—

Mr. SCHURZ said:

Mr. PARSONS: The resolution offered by the Senator from Massachusetts contemplating an investigation of certain facts. Yesterday that investigation seemed to be exceedingly popular in this body; at least every member of the Senate speaking upon it declared that he should be delighted to see it go on. To-day it does not appear quite as popular as it was yesterday. At any rate I have heard it argued by several Senators that this investigation would rather be a disgrace to the country. The Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. SUMNER,] who moved it, I had always considered a very good American, and I think his record will bear out that opinion. The American people seem to share it. But now he appears suddenly before us in the character of—what do you think, sir?—of a French agent, of a mere instrument of the French legation, put up to a job by somebody for the benefit of the French Government. Nay, sir, further, the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FREELIGHTER] represents him as one who intends to incite the Prussian Government to bring claims for damages against the United States; so that it appears the Senator from Massachusetts is not only a French agent, but a Prussian agent at the same time. It seems as if the two belligerents of 1870 were united in this one body. Have the American people, who have always considered him a patriot, so grossly mistaken their man?

Sir, this is by no means a very extraordinary spectacle, for you will well remember that at the commencement of this session, when a resolution was introduced by the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. TRUMBULL,] contemplating certain investigations to be made in the various branches of the civil service at New York and elsewhere, it was intimated, nay, loudly asserted in the newspapers, that those who demanded that investigation were very doubtful

characters compared with those whose conduct was to be investigated; in fact, that such men as the Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. SUMNER,] the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. TRUMBULL,] who is not now in his seat, and others, including myself, would rather appear at a disadvantage in comparison with Leet and Stocking, of general-order notoriety.

Now, sir, is the inquiry proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts at all proper? Is there any good reason for it? Senators have gone over the preamble, point by point, and although I think it may become rather tedious to this body, yet I cannot refrain from imitating their example. The preamble commences as follows:

Whereas it appears from a recent cable telegram that the committee of the French National Assembly on war contracts has adopted a resolution asking the United States Government to furnish the result of inquiry into the conduct of American officials suspected of participating in the purchase of arms for the French Government during the war with Germany.

How has this statement been interpreted by the Senator from Iowa, [Mr. HARLAX? He stands up boldly before us and charges the Senator from Massachusetts or some other Senator with having given a promise to the French agent authorizing him to telegraph home that a certain inquiry calculated to benefit the French Government would come up here at a certain time. I ask the Senate, is there the least reason before us for such a supposition? Is there any reason to be found in the well-known character of the Senator from Massachusetts? If the Senator from Iowa thinks he can shape the public sentiment of the country by such insinuations, I think he will find himself mistaken.

The fact seems to be that the French Government has discovered certain transactions of a questionable nature connected with the purchases of arms during the late war, and has certain reasons to suppose that the Government of the United States has become aware of practices of a doubtful character connected with the same thing in this neigh-

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Duplicate

#77

Sales of Arms to French Agents, and how they are
Officially Justified.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CARL SCHURZ,

OF MISSOURI,

DELIVERED

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

MAY 31, 1872.

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#78

Election of Senator Caldwell.

SPEECH OF HON. CARL SCHURZ,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

March 14, 1873,

On the resolution declaring that ALEXANDER CALDWELL was not duly and legally elected a Senator from the State of Kansas.

Mr. SCHURZ. Mr. President, every Senator who has spoken upon the subject before us has treated it as a matter of most painful interest; and quite naturally so, for nobody could approach it without reluctance. It is hardly possible that there should be the least personal or political bias in this debate, at least none unfavorable to the gentleman most nearly concerned. As far as I know, the conduct of the Senator from Kansas on this floor has been uniformly inoffensive and courteous. He has, I presume, no personal enemy here. We also know that in case he should be removed from his seat in the Senate, the legislature of Kansas is certain to put a successor into his place who will be of exactly the same party complexion, and there can, therefore, be no political loss or gain involved in a change as to party strength on this floor. If there ever was a case which might be treated upon its own merits, it is this.

We have to meet here, first, a question of law; secondly, a question of fact; and then, also, what I might call a question of policy as to the rigorous or lenient application of the law to the facts and the person.

In discussing the question of law, I invite the Senate to assume a state of facts as fully established. Suppose a person has taken his seat here, elected by a State legislature, presenting when he appeared among us regular credentials in the correctest form, and proving by the usual evidence that in his election every prescription of law had been fully complied with. Suppose, then, it is subsequently shown that the election of that person was effected and carried by gross bribery; suppose a clear case discloses itself of a purchase with money of a seat in the Senate of the United States. Then the question arises: Has the Senate any power to protect itself by the exclusion of such a person?

An argument has been submitted by the Senator from Kansas, and as that argument goes further in its assumptions than any other, I will discuss it first.

He says the Senate cannot unseat that person by declaring the election invalid, because the Senate has not the constitutional power to go behind the regular certificate of election, signed by the governor and bearing the great seal of the State; and, secondly, he says that the Senate cannot expel such a person by a two-thirds vote, because

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#79

EULOGY
ON
CHARLES SUMNER,

DELIVERED BY
CARL SCHURZ,

BEFORE THE
CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON,
IN
MUSIC HALL, APRIL 29, 1874.



BOSTON:
ROCKWELL & CHURCHILL,
PRINTERS TO THE CITY OF BOSTON,
122 WASHINGTON STREET.
1874.

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#80

MILITARY INTERFERENCE IN LOUISIANA.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CARL SCHURZ,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

JANUARY 11, 1875.

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1875.

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#81

TO BUSINESS MEN.

ADDRESS

BY

HON. CARL SCHURZ,

BEFORE THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB,

OF NEW YORK,

SATURDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 21, 1876.

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ISSUED BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, NEW YORK.

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#82

THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CARL SCHURZ,

AT

CINCINNATI, OHIO,

September 28th, 1878.

WASHINGTON, D. C.:

Printed and published by J. BRADLEY ADAMS, 814 F and 527 Seventh St.,
1878.

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HON. CARL SCHURZ,

OF MISSOURI,

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,

JULY 20, 1880.

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#84

SPEECH
OF
HON. CARL SCHURZ,

OF
MISSOURI,

AT

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, JULY 20, 1880.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: In response to the invitation with which a large number of citizens of Indianapolis have honored me, I shall speak to you only on a few of the questions which will be discussed in the present contest; on those, I mean, which come directly home to you. I shall address myself to the conservative business men of the country, whose interest in politics is only that of the public good.

I shall appeal not to your passions, but to your reason, and without any resort to the artifices of oratory, give you a plain practical talk. The language of party warfare is apt to fly to violent exaggerations for the purpose of producing strong impressions; the language of reason and common sense will abstain from them. Let me say at the outset, therefore, that I do not agree with those who speak of the present moment as the greatest crisis in the history of American affairs. The questions we have to dispose of are not those of immediate life or death; but the bearing they have upon the future welfare of the nation, and upon those interests which most nearly affect us, is important enough to make us consider well what we are doing, to call for our best judgment and a strenuous effort to put that judgment into execution.

In the first place let us make it clear to our own minds what we want. The answer is, in a general term, that we want a good government; that if we have it we must endeavor to keep it, and that if we have it not we must endeavor to get it. What is good government? We may answer again in general terms, that it is a government which well understands the public business, and understanding it, transacts it within the limits of its constitutional power, intelligently, honestly, and justly. The second question we have to answer to ourselves is, how far the Government we have comes up to these requisites, how far the principles upon which it acts, the methods it employs, the aims it pursues, and the degree of efficiency it develops, answer the public need, and how far in this respect we ought to preserve what we have or look for other things we have not.

As a member of the present administration now on the point of yielding its power into the hands of a new set of public servants, I may be permitted to appeal to the candid judgment of the American people as to the manner in which the public business has been conducted during these last years. While it might be natural that, bearing a part of the responsibility myself, I should be inclined to take a favorable view of its performances, still I feel that my ways of thinking are independent enough not to betray me into mere partisan eulogy, and that we may confidently rely upon the judgment frequently expressed, not only by our friends, but also by very many candid men among our opponents. As a matter of course I do not expect Democratic politicians and orators to give us that fairness of judgment in the heat of an election contest which they could not deny us during the repose of a previous period, and which they will not deny us when this contest is over; for it is a common experience that partisan spirit will, under the excitement of the campaign, call a man a villain to-day whose worth was recognized yesterday, and whose merit will again be admitted to-morrow. I think I am not exaggerating when I say that the fair-minded men of this country will admit, and do admit in their hearts to-day, that on the whole the public business has been conducted by this administration, as far as it was in its control, honestly, intelligently, and success-

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Hauptquartier des National-Komitees der Republikaner
und Unabhängigen,
Nr. 35 Nassau Street, New York.

Geo. Walton Green,
Sekretär.

George W. m. Curtis,
Vorsitzender.

Rede des Herrn Schurz,

gehalten in Brooklyn, am 5. August 1884.

Mitbürger! Einer Einladung gemäß, mit welcher ich beehrt worden bin, stehe ich hier vor Ihnen im Namen von Republikanern, welche den Präsidentschaftskandidaten der republikanischen Partei opponieren. Sie können es mir glauben, wenn ich sage, daß es mir kein Vergnügen bereitet, in eine Kampagne wie die jetzige einzutreten. Aber eine klare Darlegung der Gründe, welche uns zu dem Schritt, den wir gethan, veranlassen, schulden wir denen, deren Gemeinschaft in dem jetzigen Wahlkampf wir verlassen haben. An Republikaner wende ich mich aus diesem Grunde. Sicherlich werde ich keine Worte an Politiker verschwenden, die dem Namen der Partei folgen, gleichviel ob dieselbe im Rechtum ist oder nicht; aber an Männer mit Vernunft und Gewissen will ich appelliren, die ihre Parteigeliebten haben für die guten Zwecke, denen sie diene, die ihr treu waren in demselben Maße, wie sie treu war der Ehre und den wahren Interessen der Republik. Sie mögen mich hören und dann entscheiden, ob nicht dieselbe Treue sie unweigerlich dahin führen muß, wo wir jetzt stehen.

Zuerst habe ich eine falsche Auffassung unserer Beweggründe zu widerlegen. Es ist gesagt und, wie ich annehme, von Einigen auch geglaubt worden, daß wir mit der republikanischen Partei unzufrieden wären, weil ihre jetzigen Kandidaten Schutzjöllner seien. Das ist leicht zu beantworten. Ist Senator Edmunds von Vermont ein Krethändler? Im Gegentheil, es ist bekannt, daß er ein so strenger Schutzjöllner ist, wie irgend ein Mitglied des Senats. Und wer von den Kandidaten vor dem republikanischen Nationalkonvent war der Begünstigte derselben „unabhängigen Republikaner“, welche jetzt den republikanischen Nominationen opponieren? Derselbe Senator Edmunds. Weshalb bevorzugten sie ihn? Weil er durch und durch das Vertrauen verdiente als ein ehrlicher Mann, auf den man sich verlassen konnte als treu den moralischen Prinzipien und politischen Methoden, deren Beobachtung die Regierung ehrlich machen und erhalten würde. Da war der entscheidende Punkt. Wir würden andere republikanische Kandidaten, selber wenn dieselben weniger prominent und fähig, wie Herr Edmunds, und gleichviel, ob es so starke Schutzjöllner wie dieser gewesen wären, unterstützt haben, vorausgesetzt, sie hätten der einen unumstößlichen Anforderung unanfechtbarer, positiver Integrität entsprochen.

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#87

ADDRESS

- OF -

Hon. CARL SCHURZ,

DELIVERED IN BROOKLYN, AUGUST 5, 1884.

FELLOW-CITIZENS.—In obedience to the invitation with which I have been honored, I stand here in behalf of Republicans opposing the Presidential candidates of the Republican Party. You may well believe me when I say that it is no pleasure to me to enter upon a campaign like this. But a candid statement of our reasons for the step we have taken is due to those whose companionship in the pending contest we have left. It is, therefore, to Republicans that I address myself. I shall, of course, not waste any words upon politicians who follow the name of the party, right or wrong; but to the men of reason and conscience will I appeal, who loved their party for the good ends it was serving, and who were faithful to it in the same measure as it was faithful to the honor and the true interests of the Republic. Let them hear me, and then decide whether the same fidelity will not irresistibly lead them where we stand now.

THE TARIFF NOT THE ISSUE.

At the threshold I have to meet a misapprehension of our motives. It has been said, and, I suppose, believed by some, that we were dissatisfied with the Republican Party because its present candidates were protectionists. This is easily answered. Is Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, a free trader? On the contrary, he is well known to be as strong

a protectionist as any member of the Senate. And who among the candidates before the Republican National Convention was the favorite of the same "Independent Republicans" now opposing the Republican nominations? The same Senator Edmunds. Why was he their favorite? Because he was thoroughly trusted as an honest man, who could be depended upon to be faithful to those moral principles and political methods the observance of which would make and keep the Government honest. There was the decisive point. We should have supported other Republican candidates even of less prominence and of less ability than Mr. Edmunds possesses, no matter whether they were as strong protectionists as he, provided they satisfied that one fundamental requirement of unimpeachable, positive, and active integrity. This is a fact universally known which no candid man will question. What, then, has the tariff question to do with the motives of our opposition? Nothing at all. And if any of those to whom these presents may come still assert that the tariff is the moving cause of our action, they convict themselves of being afraid of the real reasons which govern us, and of seeking artfully to deceive the people about them. So far, it may have been a mistake; now it will be a lie.

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Good Advice to Young Voters.

[SENATOR HOAR'S REPLY TO CARL SCHURZ.]

A LETTER WHICH EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN
SHOULD READ.

Worcester, Aug. 21, 1884.

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,—I have received your kind and excellent letter. With what you say of the right and duty of every citizen to obey the dictate of his individual conscience and judgment in casting his vote, I fully agree. If the principles of our party be injurious to the public welfare, if the party or its candidate be corrupt, we ought to leave it. Indeed, it can easily be shown that the attitude of the party calling itself Independent is such at this moment, that every honest and conscientious man in it ought to bolt, and come over to us.

You ask me if I have read Mr. Schurz's speech, and what I think of it. I have read it carefully. Mr. Schurz is a very able man. His ability consists in his power of clear and skilful statement. He has never shown his peculiar skill more continuously than in this speech. Mr. Blaine is to be congratulated that his ablest antagonist has put together the case against him where it can be met and encountered. We may take it for granted that what Mr. Schurz has not said in this speech against the personal honesty of Mr. Blaine is not worth saying.

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#89

THE NEED OF A RATIONAL FOREST POLICY IN THE
UNITED STATES.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION

AND THE

PENNSYLVANIA FORESTRY ASSOCIATION,

AT

HORTICULTURAL HALL, PHILADELPHIA,

OCTOBER 15TH, 1889,

BY

HON. CARL SCHURZ.



PHILADELPHIA :

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY'S OFFICE, AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION,

218 SOUTH FOURTH STREET.

SPANGLER & DAVIS, PRS., 528 COMMERCE ST., PHILA'DA.

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OUR FUTURE FOREIGN POLICY

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

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AT THE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT SARATOGA, N. Y.

AUGUST 19, 1898.

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OUR FUTURE FOREIGN POLICY

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

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AT THE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT SARATOGA, N. Y.

AUGUST 19, 1898.

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DEDICATORY ADDRESS

of Emil Baensch, Manitowoc,
Wisconsin, at the

Unveiling of the Carl Schurz
Monument



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Delivered in

Oshkosh, Wisconsin, July 4, 1914

Carl Schurz

Rebell, Kämpfer und Staatsmann. Lieber: Amerika und

• 539

bergab Deutschland nicht

hört war, noch die amerikanischen Bürger aus.
 Schurz kam in die Staaten zurück, um republikanisches Programm, das er aus politischen Überzeugungen, auf Grund seiner Erfahrungen und seiner militärischen Studien, die er während seines einjährigen Exils in der Schweiz hatte, zu verteidigen und zu fördern.



Carl Schurz traf am 17. September 1852 in New York ein.

und er wurde als einer der ersten republikanischen Führer in den Vereinigten Staaten bekannt. Er war ein wichtiger Vertreter der republikanischen Bewegung in Deutschland und in der Schweiz.

er durch die beständige Lage der republikanischen Bewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten. Schurz war ein wichtiger Vertreter der republikanischen Bewegung in Deutschland und in der Schweiz.

Als Deutschland 1848/49 in die Revolution verfiel, war er in den Vereinigten Staaten. Er war ein wichtiger Vertreter der republikanischen Bewegung in Deutschland und in der Schweiz.



Ausschnitt aus der Versammlung von Gettysburg, auf der Präsident Lincoln seine berühmte Ansprache hielt. Auch unter zeitgenössischen Feinden: „Amerika, damit es

und Recht werden, ist ein sehr wichtiger Teil der amerikanischen Geschichte. Schurz war ein wichtiger Vertreter der republikanischen Bewegung in Deutschland und in der Schweiz.

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Zur Erinnerung an den Revolutionär und Staatsmann Karl Schurz

Charlton